



Campbell 2 e 4
(1-15).



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made honorary member
in October 1878 —

REPORT

OF

J. Campbell
at the
THE ANNUAL MEETING ~~requested~~
OF ~~the Secretary~~
~~convened~~.

THE GLADSTONE CLUB,
April 3. 1879. For the first time
seen what is all about.

WITH RULES AND REGULATIONS AND
AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF HONORARY MEMBERS.

This is a gavel from the
English election

GLASGOW:

PRINTED BY WM. GILCHRIST, HOWARD STREET.

1879.

4.

REPORT

OF

THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF

THE GLADSTONE CLUB,

*WITH RULES AND REGULATIONS AND
AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF HONORARY MEMBERS.*

GLASGOW:

PRINTED BY WM. GILCHRIST, HOWARD STREET.

1879.

OFFICE-BEARERS.

1879.

Hon. President.

The Right Hon. the EARL OF ROSEBERY.

Hon. Vice-Presidents.

The Right Hon. W. P. ADAM, M.P.

JAMES CAMPBELL, of Tullichewan.

ALEXANDER CRUM, of Thornliebank.

Dr. ANDERSON KIRKWOOD.

CHARLES TENNANT, of The Glen.

JAMES WHITE, of Overtoun.

Hon. Secretary.

JAMES GRAHAME, of Auldhouse.

President—A. C. MACKENZIE.

Senior Vice-President—WILLIAM M. CLOW, M.A.

Junior Vice-President—J. M'GREGOR ROBERTSON, M.A.

Treasurer—DAVID C. LECK, LL.B.

Secretary—GEORGE A. MITCHELL (8 West Princes Street).

Assistant-Secretaries { ALEX. MONCRIEFF MITCHELL.
{ J. BRUCE WILLIAMSON.

General Committee.

Adam, Andrew S.	Muirhead, Robert F.
Adam, David S.	Murray, James
Anderson, Francis	Macaulay, George
Anderson, J. W., M.A.	M'Conchie, W. G.
Bankhead, W. T., M.A.	M'Culloch, Allan
Bankier, Patrick	M'Gregor, Donald, M.A.
Beveridge, John	Mackintosh, Robert, M.A.
Beveridge, W. W.	M'Innes, John
Brown, J. B., M.A.	MacLehose, Jas. J., M.A.
Chalmers, James	MacLehose, N. M.
Clark, Peter A. G.	M'Murchy, James
Craig, Archibald, M.A.	Macphail, William M.
Denney, James	Macphee, Angus
Douglas, John B., M.A.	Napier, Lawrence T., B.L.
Drummond, R. J.	Patrick, David
Duncan, W. G.	Saunders, George
Fullarton, John H.	Steven, J. L.
Gallie, C. P.	Stevenson, Ralph D.
Gregory, Alexander	Stewart, Charles W., M.A.
Gunn, Angus	Stewart, James S.
Inglis, J. W.	Sutherland, And. N., M.A.
Isdale, Alexander, M.A.	Taylor, John, M.A.
Jones, Henry, M.A.	Thomson, James
Kean, William	Waddell, P. H., Jr., B.D.
Kidd, James, M.A.	Walker, Hugh, M.A.
Laidlaw, David	Wilson, Andrew F.
Miller, Hugh, M.A.	Younger, Robert T.
Mitchell, Alexander, M.A.	

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF
HONORARY MEMBERS.

A

Aberdare, The Right Hon. Lord
Adam, The Right Hon. W. P., M.P.
Aikman, Rev. J. Logan, D.D.
Anderson, George, M.P.
Argyll, His Grace the Duke of
Arthur, James
Asher, Alexander
Ashley, Hon. Cecil
Ashley, Hon. Evelyn

B

Bain, Prof., LL.D.
Balfour, Lieut.-Gen. Sir George, K.C.B., M.P.
Balfour, J. B.
Barclay, J. W., M.P.
Beith, Gilbert
Black, George
Blackie, W. G.
Bolton, J. C.
Bonar, James
Brand, David
Breadalbane, The Right Hon. the Earl of
Bright, Right Hon. John, M.P.
Brodie, T. D.
Brown, George
Brown, Rev. Alexander
Brown, Rev. Dr James
Brown, T. W.
Brown, Rev. Principal, D.D.

Browning, Robert
 Bruce, Rev. Prof., D.D.
 Bruce, Hon. Robert Preston
 Bryce, Prof. James, LL.D.
 Buchanan, Colonel D. C. R. C.
 Burns, John W.

C

Cameron, Charles, M.P.
 Campbell, James
 Campbell, The Right Hon. Lord Colin, M.P.
 Campbell, John F.
 Campbell-Bannerman, Henry, M.P.
 Campbell, R. F.
 Campbell, R. Vary
 Candlish, Rev. Prof., D.D.
 Cardwell, The Right Hon. Viscount
 Coats, Sir Peter
 Collins, Hon. Wm., Lord Provost
 Costelloe, B. F. C.
 Couper, C. T.
 Couper, C. T.
 Couper, James
 Crum, Alexander
 Currie, Donald

D

Daly, John F.
 Dennistoun, Alexander
 Dixon, W. S.
 Dobbie, James J.
 Duncan, James
 Duncan, Charles

E

Edwards, Dr
 Elder, George
 Ewing, H. E. Crum

F

Farquhar, John
 Forster, The Right Hon. William E.
 Frazer, Daniel
 Freeman, Edward, A., D.C.L.
 Froude, J. A.

G

Gairdner, Prof. W. T.
 Gilmour, John
 Gould, George P.
 Grahame, J. Maxtone
 Granville, The Right Hon. Earl
 Green, Prof. T. H.,
 Gregory, Thomas

H

Hamilton, J. G. C.
 Hartington, The Most Hon. the Marquis of
 Hedderwick, T. C.
 Hill, Thomas
 Holms, Lieut.-Col. William, M.P.
 Houldsworth, James

J

Innes, Alexander Taylor

J

Jack, William, LL.D.

K

Kennedy, F. R.

Kennedy, The Right Hon. T. F.

Kidston, J. B.

Kimberley, The Right Hon. the Earl of
Kirkwood, Anderson, LL.D.

L

Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, Bart., M.P.

Lowe, The Right Hon. Robert, M.P.

M

Macandrew, H. C.

MacCaig, J. S.

MacClure, J. H.,

MacClymont, Colin R.

Macduff, The Right Hon. Viscount, M.P.

MacEwan, Alexander R.

MacFarlane, Walter

Macgregor, D. C.

MacIndoe, George Park

MacIntosh, Eneas

MacKendrick, Prof.

MacKenzie, William

MacLagan, Peter, M.P.

MacLehose, Robert, M.A.

Macphee, Rev. Alexander S., B.D.

Macphee, Donald

Mason, Stephen

Middleton, R. T.

Mitchell, Andrew

Mitchell, James, LL.D.

Mitchell, John

Mitchell, Rev. John P.

Mitchell, W. G.

Moncreiff, Rev. Sir Henry Wellwood, Bart.

Moncreiff, The Right Hon. Lord

Morton, Charles

Morton, James

Mure, Lieut.-Col. William, M.P.

Murray, David

Murray, Provost David

N

Nicolson, Sheriff

Noel, Ernest, M.P.

P

Parker, C. S., M.P.

Paterson, George

Paterson, Rev. Prof. .

Patrick, Rev. William, B. D.

Playfair, Right Hon. Lyon, M.P.

Potter, T. Bayley, M.P.

Pulsford, Rev. William, D.D.

Purves, Thomas

R

Rainy, Rev. Principal, D.D.

Ramsay, John, M.P.

Reid, J. J.

Richard, Henry, M.P.

Robinow, M. E.

Robertson, Rev. F. L.

Rosebery, The Right Hon. the Earl of

Ross, Robert

Russell, Dr James B.

S

Sandeman, David

Saunders, David H.

Sellar, A. Craig

Selborne, The Right Hon. Lord
 Smith, Rev. Walter C., D.D.
 Smith, Rev. Prof. Robertson
 Stansfield, Right Hon. James, M.P.
 Steele, Provost
 Stephen, Alexander
 Stevenson, James
 Stewart, James, M.P.
 Stirling, William
 Swan, Provost

T

Tennant, Charles
 Thomson, Seton
 Trevelyan, George Otto, M.P.
 Trayner, J. A.
 Tweeddale, The Most Hon. the Marquis of

U

Ure, John

Y

Vass, Provost J.

W

Walker, J. H.
 Watson, Alexander
 Watson, Sir James
 Webster, John, LL.D.
 Westminster, His Grace the Duke of
 White, John C.
 White, James
 Whyte, Rev. Alexander, M.A.
 Wilson, Rev. Peter, B.D.
 Wright, John S.

Y

Young, Rev. David, D.D.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

I.

THE CLUB shall be called "THE GLADSTONE CLUB."

II.

The object of the Club is to commemorate the election of the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P., as Lord Rector of Glasgow University, in recognition of his distinguished career as a scholar, author, statesman, and orator, and to promote those broad and enlightened principles which he has so long and so successfully advocated.

III.

The ordinary Membership shall be confined to those who supported the candidature of the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P., for the office of Lord Rector.

IV.

Honorary Membership may be obtained by any gentleman professing Liberal principles, whose name has been submitted to, and has been approved by the Committee.

V.

The management of the Club shall be vested in a President, a Senior and a Junior Vice-President, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and two Assistant Secretaries (each holding office for one year), and a General Committee, with power to add to its number.

VI.

In addition the following Honorary Office-bearers shall be elected—a President, six Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary.

VII.

No alteration in the Constitution of the Club shall be made without the sanction of two-thirds of the Members present at the Annual Meeting, and intimation of any such alteration shall be made, in writing, to the Secretary, at least fourteen days before the day of meeting.

BYE-LAWS.

I.

An Annual Business Meeting shall be held for the election of office-bearers, and the consideration of all motions affecting the Constitution of the Club.

II.

At the Annual Meeting the Committee shall present a report containing a list of those gentlemen recommended for office.

III.

For the first three years the vacancies in the Committee shall be filled up at the Annual Business Meeting.

IV.

When from any cause a vacancy occurs in the offices of the Club, or in the General Committee, such vacancy shall be filled up by the Committee. A Member taking up his residence in a foreign Country becomes disqualified from holding any office.

V.

The Committee may call a Special General Meeting of the Club, on giving seven days' notice of the Meeting, and of the subject or subjects to be considered thereat.

VI.

The amount of the Annual Subscription for Ordinary Membership shall be determined from time to time by the General Committee. Voluntary Subscriptions, in aid of special objects, will be received from Ordinary and Honorary Members.

VII.

No Member shall be admitted to vote at a Meeting, or to enjoy any of the privileges of the Club, until he shall have paid his Subscription.

VIII.

At all meetings of the General Committee, seven shall form a quorum.

IX.

The Committee shall have the power to make, from time to time, such Regulations, consistent with the General Rules, as they shall think necessary, and to appoint Sub-Committees for special purposes, as may be required.

X.

A Bye-Law may be altered at any Meeting of the Club, but a majority of two-thirds of the Members present shall be necessary for such alteration.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE First Annual Meeting of the Club was held in the New Public Halls, Glasgow, on the 14th February, 1879.

The President of the Club (Mr A. C. MACKENZIE) occupied the chair, and on the platform was a large number of the Honorary Members and the Office-bearers of the Club. The hall was crowded in every part.

The Secretary (Mr GEORGE A. MITCHELL) presented the Committee's Annual Report, as follows :—

“ Shortly after the election of the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone as Lord Rector of the University, his supporters unanimously agreed to form a Club, on the model of the Cobden Club of London. The general object of the Club is ‘to commemorate the election of Mr Gladstone as Lord Rector of Glasgow University, in recognition of his distinguished career as a scholar, author, statesman, and orator; and to promote those broad and enlightened principles which he has so long and so successfully advocated.’ ”

“ A Constitution which made provision for Honorary and Ordinary Members was drawn up and approved. All students who supported Mr Gladstone’s candidature were declared eligible for Ordinary Membership, while the elec-

tion of Honorary Members was entrusted to the General Committee. Availing themselves of this power, the Committee has elected a large number of Honorary Members, eminent Liberals from all parts of the country.

[Here some of the names of the Honorary Members* were read.]

“The first corporate act of the Club was the foundation, in the University of Glasgow, of a commemorative prize, to be called ‘The Gladstone Prize.’ This prize of the annual value of Ten Guineas is offered to the Graduate who shall pass the best Examination in English History—in our University a somewhat neglected subject, but the comprehensive study of which Mr Gladstone has himself frequently recommended.

“It was intended during the summer, to place the ‘Gladstone Prize’ on the more satisfactory basis of a permanent endowment, but it was deemed advisable to defer this scheme in view of the prevalent financial depression. Meanwhile the amount has been made an annual charge on the funds of the Club.

“The next matter which occupied the attention of the Club was the Parliamentary representation of the University. The Members of the Club were convinced that, at present, everything was not being done which might be done to organise the Liberal party in the University Constituency. And this they believed to be due to a variety of causes, amongst others, to the want of some Association in intimate connection with the life of the University.

“After careful consideration, and with a view to assisting the present Liberal Committee of Council, the Club directed its attention to the University Council Roll, which has

* *Vide* pp. 5—10.

long been in a more or less defective condition. Under the supervision, and with the concurrence of the Liberal Committee of Council, the Gladstone Club rendered such aid as was in its power in the enrolment of Liberal Graduates, past and present, and your Committee is not without hope that such a spirit of enthusiasm will be evoked that every Liberal Graduate will avail himself of the privilege of registering his name, and that even before he is favoured with a circular from Dr Winchester, who mysteriously 'understands' that *every* Graduate is a Conservative.

"The Committee cannot omit from this, its first Annual Report, an expression of the severe loss it has sustained in the death of one of its most valued Vice-Presidents, John Matheson of Cordale. At a Special General Meeting of the Club, held 21st November, 1878, the following minute was adopted—'That this Club desires to express the keen regret with which it has heard of the death of Mr John Matheson of Cordale, and to place on record its high appreciation of his services in promoting the formation of the Gladstone Club, and of his unflagging devotion to Liberal principles. The Club mourns the loss of one of its most assiduous and honoured Office-bearers, and desires to offer to his widow its respectful sympathy.'

"There are many ways in which the organisation of the Club may be of service to the Liberal cause, and to its individual members, which cannot be made a prominent feature of a public report. Not the least of these is the intellectual and social stimulus arising from the formation and the ripening of academical friendships, which, in our Scottish Universities, are too often of a temporary character, and the Club hopes that the time is not far distant when

arrangements shall be made, whereby a larger proportion of the members may enjoy similar advantages.

“On behalf of the Committee,

“A. C. MACKENZIE, *Pres.*

“GEO. A. MITCHELL, *Secy.*”

The Treasurer (Mr JAMES S. STEWART) read the Auditor's Report of the accounts which, at the close of the financial year, showed a small balance in favour of the Club.

On the motion of Mr ROBERT MACKINTOSH, seconded by Mr JAMES MURRAY, the Secretary's and the Treasurer's Reports were adopted.

Several amendments of a verbal character were then made on the Rules and Regulations, on the motion of Mr W. M. CLOW, seconded by Mr DAVID C. LECK.

Thereafter the Office-bearers for the current year were elected.*

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced Mr J. B. BALFOUR, Advocate, called upon him to move a resolution:—

Mr BALFOUR, who was enthusiastically received, said—Mr Chairman and gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in complying with the request which your Committee have done me the honour to make, that I would propose a resolution at this the first annual meeting of the Gladstone Club. I think you will agree that the resolution is one in the highest degree appropriate to the present situation of affairs. I shall now read it:—“That this Club renews the expression of its high appreciation of the great and enduring services rendered to the State by

* *Vide* page 3.

William Ewart Gladstone—(cheers)—and records its unabated confidence in his integrity, genius, and wisdom.” (Cheers.)

Though I had not the good fortune to take part in the Rectorial Election which this Club has been founded to commemorate, it was my privilege in the year 1859 to bear a part in an exactly similar contest in the University of Edinburgh. (Cheers.) Down to that year, as I dare say you know, there had been no Lord Rector in that University; and when the time for exercising the newly-conferred franchise approached, and we the Liberal Students of the University looked around to see where we could find a man who would be the most illustrious representative and also the most powerful champion of the principles constituting our political creed, I need not say that we had no difficulty in finding in Mr Gladstone the man of whom we were in quest. (Cheers.) In Mr Gladstone we saw that high purpose, that lofty conscientiousness, and that devoted earnestness, which not less than his academic fame, his unrivalled eloquence, and his already great achievements in the field of politics, seemed clearly to mark him out as the man of all others most fit to be our first Lord Rector. (Cheers.) Although at that time he was heavily burdened with the cares of office, he allowed himself to be nominated. I very well recollect the contest, with all its glorious excitements, such as you had fifteen months ago, and also the exultation with which we hailed the announcement of its triumphant result. Mr Gladstone, as you know, is not in the practice of making any office which he accepts merely nominal or honorary. He came down and delivered to us a noble address, which I am sure no one who heard it can ever forget. But he not only did that; he also gave the most valuable assistance, with his great University experience, in

getting into working order the new constitution which was then being established in Edinburgh as well as in the other Universities of Scotland.

You will readily believe with how great interest we who had taken part in that contest watched the same battle being again fought out here eighteen years after, and I am sure, that second to yourselves and perhaps not even second to yourselves, no one derived greater pleasure and delight from seeing Mr Gladstone returned by a majority of nearly two to one than we who had gained a similar victory in 1859. (Cheers.)

But there were features connected with your election of 1877, which, in the eyes of all thinking and observing men, gave it an interest more than ephemeral, and quite beyond what ordinarily belongs to such elections, great as that interest is.

In the year 1874, one of those waves of reactionary sentiment which come every now and then, swept over the land and seemed for the time to overwhelm Liberal principles and their upholders. The effects of that catastrophe had not passed away in the year 1877, and I am perfectly sure that, of every one who saw the courage and the gallantry with which the contest here was conducted, and found that you could again bear the standard of Liberal principles to victory, you secured not only the admiration but the gratitude. (Cheers.) And I may say further, that it was not only an impersonal question of principles which was then before this constituency, and indeed before the country. You had also a question eminently personal when you had Mr Gladstone as your champion; because we know very well that it was then his misfortune to be greatly misunderstood, and to have become the object of attacks which, for bitterness and violence, altogether exceeded the ordinary

license of political warfare. Well, that had been going on for several years, and I am certain that it must have been no small solace to the illustrious statesman to find that whatever might be said of him or thought of him in some other quarters, his name could still enkindle in the educated youth of this renowned University the same admiration and the same devotion as before. (Cheers.) In one of Mr Gladstone's addresses, I remember hearing him quote, in a very different connection, the saying of Queen Mary, "I have been greatly hated, but I have been greatly beloved," and I cannot doubt that when he saw the enthusiasm which his name excited during that contest, it must have been no small consolation for what he had been suffering elsewhere, sometimes even at the hands of his own friends.

These are some of the considerations which were present to my mind and to the minds of others at the time. You know very well what you thought and felt yourselves, and under ordinary circumstances it would probably not have been necessary, or perhaps even fitting, to express a renewal, as this resolution proposes to do, of your confidence in Mr Gladstone within so short a time after the election. But many things have happened even in the fifteen months which have passed since then, and possibly greater events are behind.

It is plain to all observing and all thinking men that this is a most critical period in the history of the country, not only as regards its political situation, but as regards its social welfare, and at such a time the country needs the services of the greatest and the best. (Cheers.) I am sure you will agree that there is none greater and none better than Mr Gladstone, and it is therefore exceedingly fitting that such a resolution as I have the honour to submit to you should now be carried, as I doubt not it will with no ambiguous voice.

I do not propose, in the few remarks which I shall make in placing that resolution before you, to go over Mr Gladstone's earlier services or those which he had performed before the time when you last pronounced your opinion upon him. I need not recount the part which he played in the emancipation of commerce in and prior to 1846, but I may say that there was one early lesson in his career which every one should take to heart and which being a moral lesson, is perhaps of even greater value than any mere political teaching could be. I refer to the example of courage and fidelity to principle which Mr Gladstone set in leaving the political party in which he began his public life, when he found that the tenets of that party were no longer such as his mind and his conscience could approve. (Cheers.) It was no small thing for a man who had been described by such an eminent authority as Lord Macaulay as "the rising hope of the Tory party" to make that break. But make it he did: and an act of that kind is not to be overlooked in commemorating the services of such a man.

As to his later services and the measures which he passed before 1874 I need really say nothing. You know how, in that series of budgets and budget speeches which were the wonder and the envy of financiers, he placed the finance of the country in a position which it had never before approached. You know very well how, in his own great Parliament, he carried a series of measures of first-rate importance, the like of which, I think I may say without fear of contradiction, had never been passed in the same time before. (Cheers.)

We know his Irish measures—what they had in view and what they accomplished; how he severed the connection between the State and a Church—(cheers)—which was not the national, but an alien church. We know how by his Land Act he did so much to tranquillise the country and to

put an end to agrarian crime; how by his Washington Treaty he regained to us the alienated friendship of our "kin beyond the sea," to use his own words; and how by his Ballot Act he secured for the poor man the power of giving his honest vote without coercion and without penalty. (Cheers.)

I need say nothing of the Judicature Acts by which he undertook to remedy, and did to a large extent remedy, the defects of a system which had defied not only the efforts, but almost the attempts at effort, of all previous reformers. These measures and many more signalised Mr Gladstone's tenure of office which came to an end in 1874.

But it may be asked, "What then brought about the catastrophe of 1874?" I do not think that it was a very mysterious occurrence, when we look back and consider the mere fact that he had passed such a series of measures as I have just shortly alluded to. We know the language which was held at that time. It was given as a reason for the result of the elections, that Mr Gladstone had harassed every interest in the country. What were these harassed interests? The interests, I suppose, in maintaining those abuses, or at all events imperfections, which it had been the business of Mr Gladstone's Parliament to remove. (Cheers.)

It is therefore not in the slightest degree wonderful that when these harassed interests combined and allied themselves with the political party then in opposition they should have accomplished what we know they did.

The Conservative party came in at that time and they promised the country rest: they promised the country peace. It was to be a time when everybody was to be happy, and we were to have a sort of political millenium—(laughter)—the wicked Liberals were to cease from troubling and the weary country was to be at rest. (Laughter and cheers.) I think that we are now in a position to form some estimate

of how far these splendid promises have been fulfilled. Has the time since 1874 been a period of rest? Is it now a period either of rest or of peace?

Mr Gladstone went out in a time of peace, having piloted the vessel of the state through some periods of great danger, notably the time of the Franco-German war. But although they acceded to office at such a time, the policy of the present Government has led to the state of affairs in which we now find ourselves, and a description of which by Mr Gladstone himself I shall shortly read. When Mr Gladstone gave up the leadership of the Liberal party in 1875 and that leadership passed into the hands of Lord Hartington who now so worthily fills the place which he vacated—(cheers)—he wanted rest and peace just as much as the country which he was said to have harassed.

Well, he has not been at rest since then, and, I am afraid, he has not had very much peace either. But whose fault is that? Very soon after he had gone to his retreat, the foreign policy of the Government began to drift us into a position, and to commit us to complicity with acts which no man of his humane and earnest nature could possibly see perpetrated in silence.

We know very well that it was the avowed purpose of the Government to maintain the independence and integrity of the Turkish empire, and that although the Turks seemed ready to do their part towards securing this end even by the extermination of the Christian races. When that unchristian policy began to be carried into practice, Mr Gladstone did not and could not remain silent. The old man eloquent came forth, and, with a voice ringing high and clear as ever, he spoke out in indignant accents of expostulation and protest. (Cheers.) And we know the consequence. Although the Government never admitted that it was Mr Gladstone who

compelled them to modify their policy, I do not think any of us can doubt that he and the spirit which he evoked by what has been stigmatised as an agitation, did cause a material change in the action of the Government in relation to the Eastern question, and that had he then kept silence, it is impossible to say what this country, with its instincts of freedom, might not have been committed to at that time.

Well, then, the Government have since had their way, and have brought the country to a pass which Mr Gladstone has described in a few lines. I will read from the letter he wrote when he did an honour to Scotland by agreeing to stand for Midlothian. (Cheers.) He says :

“Under anything like ordinary circumstances, my choice would have been, after having served already in eleven Parliaments, either retirement or, at anyrate, the least conspicuous and most tranquil seat which it might be within my option to obtain. But the circumstances of the present juncture are far from being ordinary. At no period of my public life have the issues awaiting the judgment of the nation been of such profound importance. The management of finance, the scale of expenditure, the constantly growing arrears of legislation, serious as they are, only lead up to still greater questions. I hold before you, as I have held in the House of Commons, that the faith and honour of the country have been gravely compromised in the foreign policy of the Ministry; that by the disturbances of confidence, and lately even of peace, which they have brought about, they have prolonged and aggravated the public distress; that they have augmented the power and influence of the Russian empire even while estranging the feelings of its population; that they have embarked the Crown and people in an unjust war full of mischief if not of positive danger to India; and that by their use of the treaty-making and war-making powers of the Crown they have abridged the just rights of Parliament, and have presented that prerogative to the nation under an unconstitutional aspect which tends to make it insecure. Thus the particular subjects before us, which separately are grave enough, all resolve themselves into one comprehensive question—the question whether this is or is not the way in which the country wishes to be governed.”

Now, gentlemen, that is the question which is tendered for your consideration, and for the consideration of the country at large ; and I shall say only a very few words upon each of the points which Mr Gladstone has noticed, enquiring whether, when he prefers so heavy a charge against the present Government, and asks the country to reverse the policy pursued in its name, he does not do a thing which entitles him to our gratitude, and calls upon us to pass this resolution.

The first matter to which he refers is finance, and the enormous increase of expenditure. Now, I think that no one who watches the course of events can fail to see that that is a matter in regard to which, without going into figures and details, which would be quite inappropriate on an occasion like this, the charge he makes is entirely well founded. It is notorious that, whenever a Conservative Government come into office, the period of retrenchment and thrift is over. No doubt this is very pleasant to a great many people—to those who are connected with the spending departments of the State, and to those who are recipients from these departments. A felt check and a wholesome restraint upon extravagance are removed when the Liberals go out of office ; and although there is nothing particular to show for it—no increase of efficiency, and nothing therefore to justify increased expenditure, it speedily increases and grows apace. This progressive increase—sure but not slow—was going on even before the special circumstances of the last two years could be pleaded in explanation or extenuation of it.

While Mr Gladstone was in office he had a great many charges of an unusual kind to meet, but he met them with an expenditure varying from sixty-eight to seventy-one millions a-year. Out of that he paid ten millions for the

telegraphs. He defrayed charges such as the Alabama Claims, the cost of the Abyssinian and Ashantee Wars, and the like, without running the country into debt, and when he went out of office he left a surplus of nearly five millions to his successors. (Cheers.)

That was the state of matters which they found: what has been the state of matters since? Why, that the expenditure has gone on from about seventy-three millions in 1875 to seventy-eight millions last year, and this year it would probably have been eighty millions, even though there had been no Zulu war. How much the bill for this little war will come to, nobody can tell. Such is the action of the Government in the matter of finance, and that at a time when there is universal depression, so that these enormous amounts of taxes require to be levied from a suffering and impoverished people. (Cheers.)

The time, however, comes—and if it has not come already, I think it should come very soon (cheers)—when not the spending departments alone shall be heard, but another person, the tax-payer, who suffers long in silence, at last speaks out. When the expenditure is going up, and he sees he is getting nothing more and nothing better for it, he begins to think that he should have his say. I am sure you and all of us must be of opinion that with such an enormous growth of expenditure without results, it is high time that the taxpayer should make himself heard, and when he does speak out, there can be no one more admirably fitted to express his sentiments than Mr Gladstone. (Cheers.)

The next matter to which Mr Gladstone refers in his letter is the growing arrears of legislation. Now, that perhaps would be excused by a friend of the Government saying that there was no time for domestic legislation, they have been so exceedingly busy abroad. Well, that possibly

may be. They have been busy abroad. Whether this great activity in foreign affairs, and the resulting surprises with which we are so often greeted, are intended to distract observation and interest from domestic politics, it is not for me to say, but one thing is certain,—that without going into questions of organic change, there have not been passed in these last five years even such beneficial measures of ordinary administration, as a great country like ours, with its recurring emergencies, must necessarily require. It is the greatest mistake in the world to suppose that if you are not making organic changes, it is immaterial whether a Conservative or a Liberal Government are in office. Many people think that when once you have your great reforms carried, and your institutions settled on a sound basis, one political party can administer them as well as another. There can be no greater mistake. There are two ways of working a piece of mechanism, and still more a constitution. One way is to work the constitution loyally and the spirit which it embodies, so as to give it fair play and full scope. There is another way of working it—grudgingly, and without sympathy with its informing spirit, so as to give that spirit as little chance as possible of finding expression in results. Whether the latter has or has not been the policy pursued during these last five years, I leave you to judge. We know that of the little legislation there has been, no small proportion has been directed, if not to abrogate and reverse, at all events to maim and mar the great measures of Mr Gladstone. (Cheers.) There was the abolition of purchase in the army—(cheers)—by which the scandal of money instead of merit being the stepping-stone to promotion was removed. It is not very long since something remarkably like it was brought back under the guise of the Army Exchanges Bill. We know how attempts were made to pursue a

reactionary policy even in regard to the matter of education. There were Lord Sandon's Bill and others which will readily occur to you. I don't know that we can feel assured that there may not ere long be something like an attempt to return to Protection. That does not appear in the Ministerial statements of yesterday, but we cannot read the papers without seeing that there is a large and important body, in other matters very closely associated with the Ministry, who are now agitating and resolving to memorialise the Government in favour of what they call Reciprocity, but which is just Protection under another name. (Cheers.) It is, therefore, impossible not to see that the Constitution is not being worked according to its real spirit, and that reactionary tendencies are busy around. To counteract such tendencies, it is plain that some action is necessary with regard to the towns in the great counties, particularly in England, which now return and have long returned Conservatives as a matter of course. That these great towns, many of them in England with 50,000 inhabitants, should be merely treated as being parts of counties is an anomaly altogether out of accord with the real state of the fact. Mr Gladstone is manifestly right when he speaks of the arrears of legislation, even if you don't have regard to anything like organic change, but simply to measures affecting the fair and proper administration of the country. (Cheers.)

The next point to which Mr Gladstone refers is the foreign policy of the Government, by which he asserts that the faith and the honour of this country have been gravely compromised. Now, is he right or is he wrong in this? Have the things done been right or have they been wrong? Has the manner of doing them been right or wrong, and what has been the result? As I said a little ago, it is plain that the Government started with the idea of maintaining

the integrity of an effete and corrupt despotism. When that became impossible, it is very difficult to know what they intended to do next, but we know one thing—we know the result. If they wished to stem the torrent of Russian aggression and to any extent maintain the integrity and power of Turkey, their effort has most miserably and completely failed. We know that Russia has got practically all she wanted, and a great deal more than she ever expected to get. We know what she has got in Armenia ; she has got a great part of Turkey in Europe, if not nominally, at all events substantially, under her power ; and what is even more important for a great state—she has gained over those emancipated Christian races a moral influence far stronger than any material power can be. I say that emphatically, speaking in a meeting of Liberals, because one of the cardinal articles of the Liberal creed is to rely upon moral, not upon material, force. Therefore, I am sure that any Liberal would, infinitely more regret to see a dangerous and hostile Power gaining an abiding moral influence, than to see it winning a material advantage, which could be wrested from it by material force. Contrast the position of Russia with the position of ourselves. The Sclavonic races relied upon the Russians, and they have got what they wanted. The Greeks relied upon us, and where are they now? I see in the papers of to-day that the negotiations as to whether they are to get anything are now proceeding. I don't think their prospects are very bright when we remember the sentiment to which Lord Beaconsfield (hisses) gave utterance. I think the expression he used was "the Greeks are a young people and can afford to wait." I am very sure that this saying does not express your sentiments, and that you cannot approve of the persons now inhabiting the land from which we have derived all that is noblest

and best in literature and in art being treated in that way.

But apart from sentiment, if you look to political considerations and political results, we have gained nothing, while beyond all doubt Russia has gained much. While, however, Russia was getting so much, it would not have suited the Government not to seem to be getting something for this country, and so we have acquired the magnificent privilege of taking care of Asia Minor, and also, though upon what tenure it is very difficult to know, the blissful Island of Cyprus. (Laughter.) At first it appeared that we had somehow really got that island to ourselves; but then we began to see strange statements about Crown lands and Crown rights, till nobody now knows who has jurisdiction over any person or any thing in the island, or indeed to whom the island really belongs. But at all events, such as it is, I don't think it is a very splendid acquisition. We see also in the papers to-day that its civil revenue is in excess of its civil expenditure. That is stated by a very high authority of the Government, I suppose with the view of bringing consolation and encouragement to the country. But I am not aware that there has been much civil administration going on there. It is a "place of arms." (Laughter.) At least it was a place of arms till the invalided troops had to be sent out of it. (Great laughter and cheers.) I must say that when this morning I read the statement that its civil revenue exceeded its civil expenditure, it conveyed very little information to my mind. I should have been very much more interested to see a comparison between its revenue and the military expenditure which has already been and will yet be laid out upon it; but that is one of those things which, if we ever learn at all, it will be a long time hence. I shall not go into the vexed question of the

advantages of Cyprus. We find that recent visitors to it have very different accounts to give of their impressions. Mr W. H. Smith says it is not such a bad place, and he managed to live a week in it without being ill, while Mr Brassey tells a very different tale, and gives a doleful sketch of the officer who met him on landing looking like a ghost. Again, the House of Commons had the satisfaction of being assured last evening that the fever of Cyprus, being of a malarious type, did not extend to more than 5000 feet above the sea—(loud laughter and cheers)—an assurance which might have been very comforting, if the soldiers could live on the summit of a mountain, as St. Simeon Stylites dwelt on the top of his pillar.

I do not know that I need say much about the manner in which the foreign policy of the Government is carried out. That is a thing which we see from Mr Gladstone's letter, as well as from his many indignant speeches on the subject, he regards with the gravest disapprobation. It is very recent history. We know that what the Government contended for in diplomacy, and were apparently ready to fight for in war, was that the whole Treaty of San Stefano should go before the Powers. Well, it was supposed that the Government had gained their point, and that the whole Treaty was to go, and did go before the Powers, otherwise the meeting at Berlin was a very idle affair. But through a proceeding which I should be the last to approve—first one secret agreement and then another came out. I think you will agree that Mr Gladstone is not the kind of man who would have gone to an assembly of nations with high sounding phrases upon his lips and two secret agreements in his pocket. (Loud cheers.)

The next matter which Mr Gladstone refers to in his letter is the disturbance of confidence, and lastly of peace.

which the conduct of the Government has brought about, Now, is that a just charge or is it not? Of course I am not here to say, and it would be very unjust to say, that all the depression and all the distress prevalent in this country are due to the Government. That is what the Government allege is unjustly charged against them, but I am not aware of anybody who has ever made such a charge. I think, however, it is a just remark that you never can possibly have a revival from a period of commercial distress or commercial depression until you have something like an assured confidence in the preservation of peace. (Cheers.) Commerce depends upon confidence. It is the very breath of its life. How is it possible that the merchant can make his ventures or his bargains, if he has no idea what will be the state of affairs when these come to be fulfilled? He will not put forth his hand until he knows what is going to happen, or has some reasonable assurance of the continuance of peace. I put it to you whether one of the main things by which the commerce of this country is being held back just now, is not the idea that we may wake up any morning, and be met by another surprise like those which have startled us at regular intervals for some years past. (Cheers.) We saw how even two or three meetings of the Cabinet the other week—the most ordinary thing in the world before the assembling of Parliament—set everybody trembling and in fear as to what was to happen next. This just shows how difficult it is, when a spirit of uncertainty has been once engendered, to allay that spirit.

I think, therefore, you will agree that Mr Gladstone makes no unjust charge when he says that the policy of the Government has perpetuated and aggravated the existing distress, and that until there has been a change either in the policy of the Government, if that were possible, or by the

substitution of another Administration for it, we cannot expect the country to be what it has been in the past, and what we hope it may be in the future. (Cheers.)

There is just one other matter as to which I would say a word, and that is what Mr Gladstone describes as the use which has been made by the Government of the treaty-making and war-making powers of the Crown. This charge Mr Gladstone places last in his weighty accusation: it is the climax, and I don't think any Liberal can be in the least surprised at that. It is the last charge, because it is the gravest and the worst. With us Liberals it is a fundamental principle that the people, in the widest sense, are the source of power—the deliberate wishes of the people are to be regarded, the people are to be trusted, not deluded or kept in the dark; and no Government should pursue a policy which runs counter to the settled convictions of the country. Surely, therefore, it is plain that although it would not be expedient or possible to publish all that passes with Foreign Governments during the progress of delicate negotiations, it is a violation of that great principle to conclude important treaties, and only divulge them after it is too late for the voice of the country to be heard upon them. That is not in consonance with the principles which all true Liberals have at heart, and therefore it is not wonderful that Mr Gladstone denounces the conduct of the Government in regard to that matter as he has done.

If I have been right in what I have said, I think you will be of opinion that this is a very fitting time to pass such a resolution as I have the honour to propose, because it renews and perpetuates the expression of the confidence of this Club in Mr Gladstone—in his integrity, his character, and his wisdom. Even in the short, though not uneventful period of history since November 1877, when you carried

him to victory in the Rectorial Election, a great deal has happened which makes it imperative upon all true Liberals to arise and prepare for action, and there is no man who can do battle as he can for the principles which he has championed for so many years, and which he will champion to the end. I doubt not you will be agreed that to the great question which he puts—Is this or is this not the way in which the country wishes the Government to be carried on?—only one answer can be given. What may be said or done in the present Parliament will give no true sign of how the country would answer that question. The present Parliament was not elected with reference to any of the issues that have now come to the front. But I think we have had one or two indications of what the country will probably say when it is asked to answer Mr Gladstone's great question. We have seen how some of the parliamentary elections have been going. I don't refer to elections in English counties, because they prove nothing as to the sentiments of the great body of the people, and wont do so until a County Franchise Act is passed; but, happily, one indication which we have had is of the greatest significance and the most hopeful promise. I refer to the four Rectorial Elections which have taken place within the last two years. In the autumn of 1877, three of our Universities elected their Lord Rectors, and one, Aberdeen, made its election in 1878. The result of these four elections has been, that at this moment Liberal Lord Rectors fill the Chairs of all our four Universities. (Cheers.) We have Mr Gladstone here, Lord Hartington in Edinburgh, Lord Selborne in St. Andrews, and Lord Rosebery in Aberdeen. (Cheers.)

Lord Hartington made the other day a remark which I thought at the time and think still was highly apposite

to the present position of affairs. In that admirable address which he delivered in Edinburgh, which I am sure you read, and which showed that he is a scholar and a thinker as well as a statesman, he said, in speaking of the Universities, that they should not only move along with the times but in advance of them. I think I may fairly and truly say that these Rectorial elections show that our Scottish Universities are fulfilling that high function. They have been and are moving in advance of the times; but it is not unreasonable to hope and expect that when the country is called upon to speak at its next Election, it will be found to have made up to the Universities. (Cheers.) But, however that may be, the four elections which have placed four such men in the Rectorial chairs of our Universities are of the highest significance, and the most happy augury. (Cheers.) This University was redeemed from Tory domination; so was another: and in two of the contests the Liberal Lord Rectors were opposed by two of the most popular of Her Majesty's Ministers, a fact which gave a distinct political character and importance to the elections, which they would not have possessed if men of letters or eminence in other walks than politics had been opposed to the Liberal statesmen who were victorious.

I do not know that in presenting this resolution for your consideration I need say anything further, except this, that when the time comes for answering the great question put by Mr Gladstone, we have very good reason to hope that the country may give the same answer as the Universities have done, and that is the answer "No." (Cheers.)

*"Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus egvt."*

(Cheers and cries of "translate, translate.") Not the present

administration—not those who have done the things which Mr Gladstone stigmatises in his Midlothian letter, but the four Lord Rectors, and such as they, are the men whom the times require.—(Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Rev. Dr JAMES BROWN, Paisley, seconded. He believed the return of Mr Gladstone as Lord Rector for the Glasgow University and of the Marquis of Hartington as Lord Rector for the Edinburgh University would, in after times, be regarded as a great historical event—as the precursor to a political reaction which brought the Liberal party once more into power, and drove the Tories from office. (Cheers.)

Sir JAMES WATSON moved that the above resolution be transmitted to Mr Gladstone. He was quite sure that it would give a very great amount of gratification to Mr Gladstone to receive the resolution and to know the enthusiasm with which it had been passed. (Cheers.) It would show him that he had many warm and steady friends, both in the University of Glasgow and in the city of Glasgow, as well as over the length and breadth of Scotland, and it would show him that the same feeling which existed at the time he was appointed Lord Rector had continued uninterrupted to the present day. (Cheers.)

Mr R. V. CAMPBELL, Advocate, seconded the resolution. He saw in the depression of trade the results of Tory principles acting throughout the world, and it seemed to him that before long they should have another statesman at the helm competent to deal with free trade and our foreign relations, and competent to see us advancing in the paths of retrenchment and reform. He knew no man who represented the cause of Liberalism better than Mr Gladstone, and he had no doubt that in choosing him as the object of their admira-

tion the students of the University were stirred by a generous spirit appropriate to their *Alma Mater*. (Cheers.)

The resolutions on being put to the meeting were unanimously carried.

Mr BRAND, Advocate, in the unavoidable absence of the Lord Provost, moved a vote of thanks to the various speakers, passing a high eulogium on the versatile ability of Mr Balfour.

Mr COSTELLOE seconded the motion, which was very cordially assented to, and a vote of thanks having been awarded to the chairman, the proceedings terminated.

The following is the official letter transmitting a copy of the resolution, together with Mr Gladstone's acknowledgment:

“THE GLADSTONE CLUB.

“8 WEST PRINCES STREET,
“GLASGOW, 17th February, 1879.

“SIR,

“The First Annual Meeting of the Club was held in the New Public Halls, Glasgow, on the 14th inst., when the following resolution, moved by J. B. BALFOUR, Esq., Advocate, Edinburgh, and seconded by the Rev. DR. JAMES BROWN, of Paisley, was enthusiastically adopted:—

“‘That this Club renews the expression of its high appreciation of the great and enduring services rendered to the State by WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, and records its unabated confidence in his integrity, genius, and wisdom.’

“And on the motion of SIR JAMES WATSON, seconded by RICHARD VARY CAMPBELL, Esq., Advocate, we were instructed to forward a copy of the foregoing resolution—an instruction which it gives us the greatest possible pleasure to

execute. We wish it were in our power, at the same time, to convey an adequate idea of the intensity of the feeling with which it was received.

“We are, SIR,

“Your faithful and obedient servants,

(Signed) “A. C. MACKENZIE, *Pres.*

“GEO. A. MITCHELL, *Secy.*

“To the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.”

In his reply, Mr GLADSTONE says:

“I thank you for transmitting to me the very gratifying resolution of the Club, and I have a further pleasure in seeing that the political principles with which my name, among others, is associated were set forth with an eloquence and spirit promising so much for the future.”

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

I. QUARTERLY MEETINGS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE:—
Meetings of the General Committee will be held in the Grand Hotel, Charing Cross, Glasgow, at 7-30 p.m. on the dates undernoted, viz.—Wednesday, 30th April, Wednesday, 30th July, Thursday, 30th October, and Monday, 22nd December, 1879. The Committee has resolved to throw these Meetings open to all Members of the Club who may find it convenient to attend.

II. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS:—*The Committee has resolved to appoint in the various localities throughout the country Corresponding Members. Those who are willing to act in this capacity will please communicate with the Secretary.*

III. INTIMATION OF CHANGE OF ADDRESS:—*Members are requested to intimate to the Secretary any change of address. The Committee intend to print the names and addresses of Ordinary Members.*

*** CLUB NOTE PAPER:—*Arrangements have been made with Mr Lyon, 393 Sauchiehall Street, for the preparation of Note Paper of various sizes for the use of Members of the Club. Members in purchasing will require to give their names and addresses,*





